

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 NATO 03101

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, NATO
SUBJECT: FOLLOW-ON NATO MACHINERY FOR HANDLING THE LONG-
TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

REF: (A) USNATO 2709 (DTG 050825Z MAY 77), (B) USNATO
2806 (DTG 061651Z MAY 77)
SUMMARY: THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF TELEGRAMS IN
WHICH WE WILL PROVIDE OUR VIEWS ON FOLLOW-ON ACTION TO
DEVELOP THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE
PRESIDENT AT THE LONDON NATO SUMMIT. IN THIS TELEGRAM WE
FOCUS ON TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR A BODY, SUBORDINATE TO THE
DPC, THAT WOULD SUPERVISE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM.
SUBSEQUENTLY, WE WILL OFFER VIEWS IN MORE DETAIL ON HOW
THIS BODY SHOULD PROCEED TO APPORTION TASKS. WE SEE
ADVANTAGE IN ADVISING SYG LUNS AND KEY IS OFFICIALS SOON
OF US PRELIMINARY THINKING ON FOLLOW-ON NATO MACHINERY TO
HANDLE THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (REF A), IN ORDER TO
FORECLOSE PREMATURE MOVES BY THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF (IS)
IN DIRECTIONS WE WOULD WISH TO AVOID. NATO WILL BE ENTER-
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ING TERRA INCOGNITA WITH THIS EXERCISE, IN TAKING ON THE
COMPLEX TASK OF LONG-TERM INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMMING ON
THIS SCALE, AN ACTIVITY THAT IT HAS HITHERTO NOT
ATTEMPTED. ALTHOUGH OUR THINKING IS STILL IN A PRELIM-
INARY STAGE, IN THE INTEREST OF TIMELINESS WE OFFER BELOW
OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR DRAFT TERMS OF REFERENCE (TOR) FOR A
STEERING COMMITTEE AT DCM LEVEL, AND REQUEST AUTHORIZATION

TO DISCUSS THESE TOR WITH LUNS, PREFERABLY BEFORE THE MEETING OF DEFENSE MINISTERS, TO GET HIS INITIAL REACTION AND TO FORESTALL UNTIMELY INITIATIVES ON HIS PART AT THE DPC. THERE MAY BE A NEED TO AUGMENT MNC STAFFS, THE IS, AND POSSIBLY USNATO AS WELL, WITH EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS ON A TEMPORARY BASIS. CONSEQUENTLY, DOD SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PROVIDE ITS SHARE OF TDY AUGMENTATION ON SHORT NOTICE. ACTION REQUESTED: BY MAY 16, GUIDANCE ON USE OF THE DRAFT TOR, CONTAINED IN PARA 5 BELOW, IN DISCUSSIONS SOONEST WITH LUNS AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE IS. END SUMMARY.

1. MOVING FROM THE GENERAL PROPOSITION OF THE NEED FOR A LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM TO DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL, TIME-PHASED PROGRAMS, LAID OUT IN PROGRAMMATIC TERMS, WILL BE A WRENCHING TASK FOR NATO BODIES THAT HAVE NEVER WORKED ON SUCH TASKS, MOVED SO QUICKLY, OR TRIED TO DEAL WITH SO MANY UNRESOLVED FACTORS (E.G., FUTURE WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND TECHNOLOGY, COSTS, FINANCIAL TRENDS, COUNTRY PLANS THAT PROJECT FIVE YEARS, DIFFERING TACTICAL CONCEPTS). THERE WILL INEVITABLY BE DIVERGENCES OF VIEWS, IN THE FIRST PLACE ON HOW TO GO ABOUT ORGANIZING THE TASK. SOME MAY RESIST, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, CREATING A NEW BODY TO HANDLE THE FOLLOW-ON WORK, FAVORING INSTEAD HAVING SYG LUNS ALLOCATE TASKS TO EXISTING BODIES THAT WOULD REPORT DIRECTLY TO THE DPC. OTHERS MAY PREFER TO GIVE THE EWG OR THE DRC THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOLLOW-ON.

-- WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE
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LIES IN ESTABLISHING A STEERING COMMITTEE (SC) AT DCM LEVEL TO OVERSEE THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM, RATHER THAN REFERRING THE TASK TO THE EWG OR DRC. THE DRC IS UNSATISFACTORY, WE BELIEVE, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN IT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE ASYG FOR DEFENSE SUPPORT. THE EWG DOES NOT HAVE THAT DEFECT; HOWEVER, THE DEFENSE ADVISORS REPRESENTING COUNTRIES IN THE EWG, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE BETTER INFORMED IN DETAIL ON DEFENSE MATTERS THAN MOST DCMS, WILL ALSO BE BETTER INFORMED ON TRIVIAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE NMA-DEVELOPED PROGRAMS, AND ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE INFLUENCED BY EXISTING PLANNING PROCEDURES. WITH DCMS REPRESENTING NATIONS, FOREIGN OFFICES ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO PARTICIPATE MORE EXTENSIVELY IN FORMULATING INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH, IN CONSEQUENCE, MAY LEAD TO GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF PROPELLING THE EXERCISE AHEAD. FURTHER, THE SC COULD EXPAND TO 15 TO HANDLE THE PROGRAMS COVERING STANDARDIZATION/INTEROPERABILITY, WHEREAS THE FRENCH MIGHT BE RELUCTANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EWG, SUBORDINATE BODY OF THE DPC, TO

WHICH THEY DO NOT BELONG.

-- STATED DIFFERENTLY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE POTENTIAL FOR FRUSTRATING THE NMA-DEVELOPED PROGRAMS WOULD BE LESS WITH A COMMITTEE OF DCMS THAN WITH A COMMITTEE OF DEFADS, AND THAT THIS CONSIDERATION OUTWEIGHS THE LOSS OF EXPERTISE THAT DEFADS WOULD BRING DIRECTLY TO THE TABLE. IF MORE EXPERTISE IS NEEDED IN CERTAIN TASKS, THE DCMS CAN TURN TO OTHER BODIES FOR ASSISTANCE -- E.G., THE EWG OR SPECIALIZED SUB-GROUPS FORMED TO OVERSEE OR DEVELOP PARTI-

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CULAR PROGRAMS.

2. WE HAVE ALSO CONSIDERED DIRECT SUPERVISION OF THIS EXERCISE BY THE PERMREPS THEMSELVES, BUT HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY TIME AVAILABLE TO GIVE THE EXERCISE THE CONTINUING ATTENTION IT WILL NEED, NOR WOULD THEY WISH TO DEAL WITH THE LEVEL OF DETAIL THE PROGRAMS MUST CONTAIN. WE ENVISAGE THAT THE PERMREPS COULD BE KEPT CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THE ONGOING WORK THROUGH FREQUENT STATUS REPORTS FROM THE SC, AND WE WOULD INTEND TO DISCUSS THIS ASPECT WITH LUNS.

3. OUR DRAFT TOR (PARA 5 BELOW) HAVE THE DCMS MAKING UP THE SC (BACKED UP BY DEFADS AND SUITABLE EXPERTS), WITH DSYG PANSA IN THE CHAIR AND ATTENDANCE BY ASYG LABERGE,

ASYG MUMFORD, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MC AND THE MNCS. (OUR PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO HAVE THE DEPUTY CMC AS THE MC REP, WITH MNC REPS AT THE TABLE RATHER THAN AS BACK-UP FOR THE MC REP; HOWEVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE ISSUE OF NMA REPRESENTATION IS A MATTER FOR THE NMAS TO RESOLVE.) THE
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DRAFT TOR PROVIDE THE SC FULL TASKING AUTHORITY, AND DIRECT THE SC IN THE COURSE OF ITS WORK TO ASSESS THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENED PROGRAMMING AND IMPLEMENTARY MACHINERY AND TO DEVELOP RECOMMENDATIONS AS APPROPRIATE. WE SPELL OUT THE ROLE OF THE NMAS AND GO INTO SOME DETAIL (WITHOUT BEING OVERLY RESTRICTIVE) ON GROUND RULES FOR DEVELOPING THE 8-10 INDIVIDUAL, COSTED, TIME-PHASED PROGRAMS AND ON WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AS THE FINAL PRODUCT. OUR DRAFT TOR DIRECT THAT THE PROGRAMS BE BASED ON EXISTING REPORTS, I.E., NOT CONTAIN DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF THE THREAT OR RATIONALE FOR THE REQUIREMENT, AND FOCUS ON ACTION NEEDED FOR IMPLEMENTATION. THE CENTRAL PROBLEM IS TO PUT THESE REQUIREMENTS INTO A FINAL PRODUCT SHOWING CLEARLY WHO CONTRIBUTES WHAT AND WHEN. THE TOR PROVIDE SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY TO PERMIT THE NMAS TO PLAY THE PRIMARY ROLE IN PREPARING THE INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS, WHILE ALLOWING CIVIL-MILITARY BODIES TO TAKE THE LEAD, WHERE APPROPRIATE (E.G., STANDARDIZATION/INTEROPERABILITY) AND TO ASSIST THE NMAS IN PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT. WE WOULD EXPLAIN TO LUNS THAT TNF WILL, OF COURSE, REMAIN WITH THE NPG AND NOT EVEN COME TO THE SC.

4. WHATEVER THE FOLLOW-ON MACHINERY, THE REAL SUCCESS OF THE LONG-TERM PROGRAM WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE RESOURCES THAT THE NMAS AND NATO CIVIL BODIES CONCERNED CAN BRING TO BEAR TO DEVELOP THE INDIVIDUAL PROGRAM PACKAGES:

-- SINCE THE NEW EXERCISE WILL STRENGTHEN AND BROADEN ONGOING NATO DEFENSE PLANNING ACTIVITIES, WE BELIEVE PLANNERS FROM CAPITALS MAY BE NEEDED ON A TEMPORARY BASIS TO SUPPLEMENT STAFFS AT MNC AND NATO HEADQUARTERS IN ORDER TO MEET THE ONE-YEAR DEADLINE.

-- IN SOME CASES (E.G., EW), MNCS, AND THE IS MAY NEED THE ASSISTANCE OF PLANNERS WITH A HIGHER LEVEL OF EXPERTISE THAN CURRENTLY AVAILABLE ON THEIR STAFFS; USNATO ALSO MAY NEED TDY ASSISTANCE FROM DOD.

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-- FURTHER, HOWEVER, WE SEE A REAL NEED FOR A GREAT DEAL OF ANALYTICAL WORK TO SATISFY TWO NEEDS: (A) TO IDENTIFY SOFT SPOTS IN COUNTRIES' ONGOING PROGRAMS, I.E., AREAS OF INEFFICIENCIES OR AREAS WHERE COUNTRY AND ALLIANCE PRIORITIES ARE NOT ALIGNED. LARGE RESOURCE SAVINGS VIA INCREASED COOPERATION ARE PROBABLY NOT REALIZABLE IN THE SHORT RUN. HENCE THE NEED FOR TRADE-OFFS AND REPROGRAMMING WITHIN COUNTRY PROGRAMS. (B) TO ASSIST IN FORMULATING OPTIMUM FORCE MIXES WITHIN PROGRAM AREAS, E.G., WITHIN THE AIR DEFENSE PROGRAM, OPTIMUM MIX OF INTERCEPTORS AND SAM (HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW ALTITUDE).

-- MUCH OF THE DETAILED ANALYTICAL BACKUP WORK COULD BE DONE IN WASHINGTON OR CONTRACTED OUT, WITHOUT DETAILING PLANNERS TO MNC OR NATO HEADQUARTERS.

-- DETAILED BACKUP RATIONALE FOR TRADE-OFFS AND FOR FORCE MIX COULD GREATLY FACILITATE NATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE NMA PROGRAMS, AND MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR NATIONS TO QUIBBLE OR REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE PROGRAMS.

5. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF DRAFT TOR:

ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE STEERING COMMITTEE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

A. MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE WILL BE THE THIRTEEN DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES, SUPPLEMENTED

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AS APPROPRIATE BY THE SENIOR DEFENSE COUNSELLORS FROM DELEGATIONS AND BY SUITABLE EXPERTS; THE DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE ITS CHAIRMAN; IT WILL BE ATTENDED BY THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES GENERAL FOR DEFENSE SUPPORT AND DEFENSE PLANNING AND POLICY, AND BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATO MILITARY COMMITTEE AND OF THE MAJOR NATO COMMANDERS.

B. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO DRAFT A REPORT (DPC/D(77)) ON A LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM TO FOLLOW UP ON 1977 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE BY ADAPTING NATO'S DETERRENT AND DEFENSE POSTURE OF THE NEEDS OF THE 1980S. IN PURSUIT OF THIS PURPOSE IT WILL BE EMPOWERED TO DRAW ON THE ACTIVITIES AND CAPABILITIES OF EXISTING NATO BODIES WHENEVER APPROPRIATE, TO ACCELERATE THE PACE OF WORK OF THESE BODIES IF NECESSARY, AND TO FORM SPECIAL WORKING GROUPS OF ITS OWN MEMBERS OR OF NATIONAL OR NATO EXPERTS AS NEEDED.

C. THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES (NMAS) WILL HAVE
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PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR PREPARING INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS TO CORRECT ABOUT 8-10 OF THE ALLIANCE'S MOST CRITICAL DEFICIENCIES. IN SOME CASES, E.G., STANDARDIZATION/INTEROPERABILITY, IT MAY BE APPROPRIATE FOR CIVIL-MILITARY BODIES TO TAKE THE LEAD OR ASSIST IN PREPARING INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS. THESE PROGRAMS SHOULD EXTEND AS FAR INTO THE FUTURE AS THEIR SUBJECT MATTER REQUIRES, AND SHOULD ESTABLISH DESIRABLE NATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN PROGRAMMATIC TERMS. IN THE INTEREST OF FOCUSING PRIMARILY ON IMPLEMENTATION, INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS SHOULD REFLECT AGREED ALLIANCE THREAT EVALUATION AND NATO STRATEGY, BE BASED ON EXISTING STUDIES AND REPORTS, AND OMIT DETAILED STATEMENTS OF RATIONALE FOR THE REQUIREMENT. EACH INDIVIDUAL PROGRAM SHOULD CONTAIN AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ABILITY OF EXISTING NATO MACHINERY TO IMPLEMENT IMPROVEMENTS AND IDENTIFY AND DISPLAY PROBLEM AREAS WITH RECOMMENDATIONS WHERE APPLICABLE FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THIS MACHINERY. THE COMMITTEE WILL REVIEW AND INCORPORATE THESE INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS IN ITS FINAL REPORT.

D. THE COMMITTEE SHOULD PROGRAM ITS WORK SO THAT A FINAL REPORT IS READY FOR SUBMISSION TO MINISTERS AT THEIR SPRING 1978 MEETING. THIS WILL REQUIRE THE SUBMISSION OF INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS AS SOON AS THEY ARE READY. THE

NMAS AND CIVIL-MILITARY BODIES CHARGED WITH PREPARING
INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS WILL ADVISE THE COMMITTEE BY (-----)
OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONCEPT FOR DEVELOPING THE PROGRAM
AND OF MANPOWER AND ANY OTHER REQUIREMENTS NEEDING
COMMITTEE ATTENTION. THE COMMITTEE WILL SUBMIT TO
MINISTERS AT THEIR DECEMBER 1977 MEETING A PROGRESS
REPORT WITH INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS IN AT LEAST OUTLINE FORM.

E. IN DEVELOPING THE PROPOSED LONG TERM DEFENSE
PROGRAM, THE COMMITTEE WILL ASSESS THE NEED FOR
STRENGTHENED PROGRAMMING AND IMPLEMENTING MACHINERY TO
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HELP DESIGN THE PROGRAM AND TO INSURE THAT AGREED PLANS
ARE CARRIED OUT, AND WILL DEVELOP RECOMMENDATIONS AS
APPROPRIATE.

F. THE COMMITTEE WILL KEEP THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE
REGULARLY INFORMED OF ITS ACTIVITIES AND BRING ANY
DIFFICULTIES WHICH INTERFERE WITH PROGRESS PROMPTLY TO
THE DPC'S ATTENTION. THE DPC IN MINISTERIAL SESSION
IN SPRING 1978 WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO TERMINATE OR CONTINUE
THE COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES. END TEXT. STREATOR

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